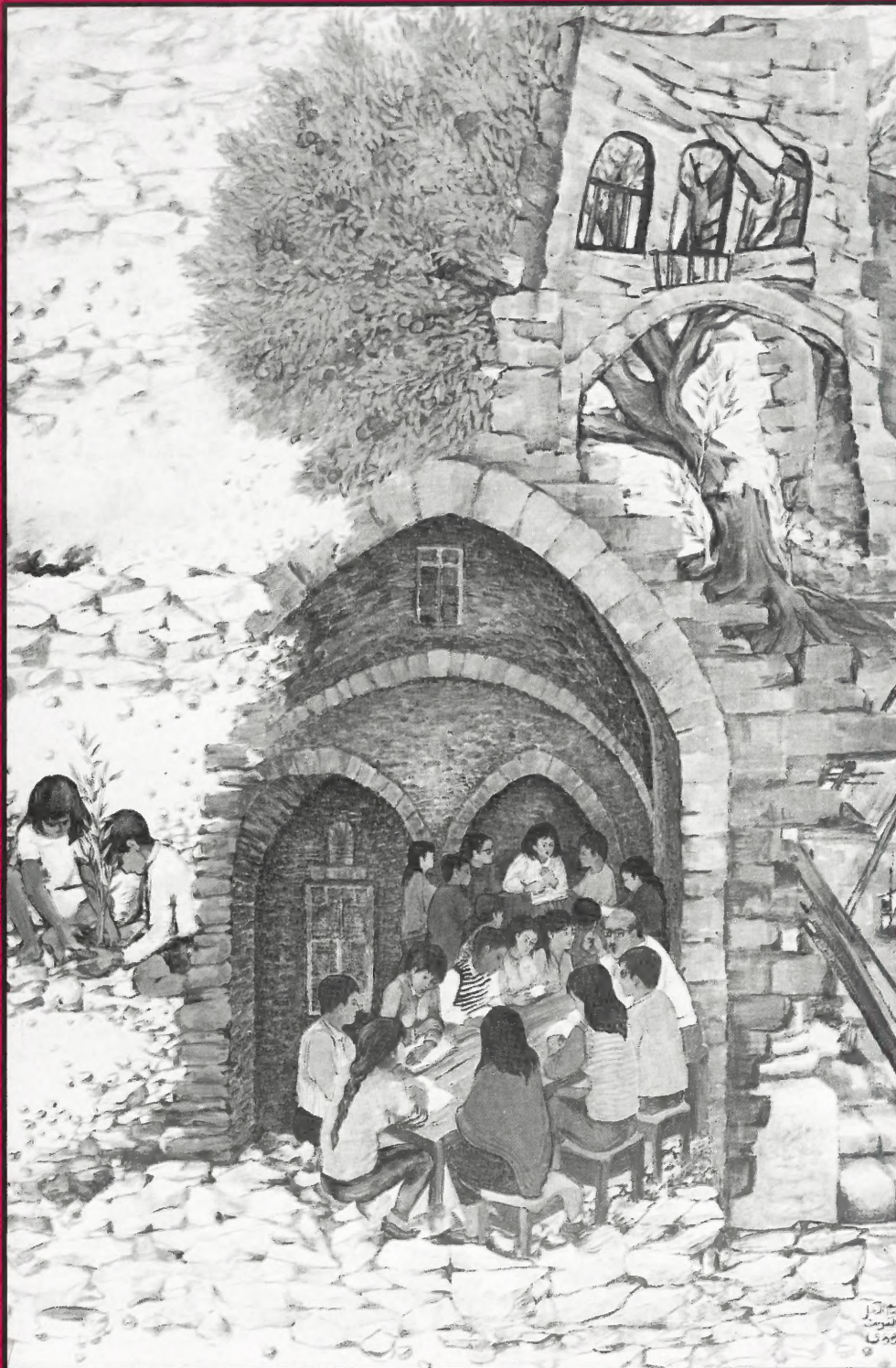


# Palestine Perspectives

Number 46

*The Magazine of Contemporary Palestinian Affairs*

Mar./Apr. 1990



## ■ Israeli Feud

Can an Israeli civil war be ruled out? Contradictions in Israeli society create a situation of civil war waiting to happen—*p. 6*

## ■ Palestinian Economy

Book review. A new study of the economic viability of an independent Palestinian state, and the reconstruction challenge awaiting it—*p. 8*

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## ■ Soviet Colonists

The impact of Soviet Jewish settlement in Palestine on the peace process. Is another dispossession of the Palestinians under way?—*p. 13*

## Peace is a policy, not a wish

This is a time when a lot of people are feeling cheated because peace did not come to the Middle East. Of course, people who thought that peace was around the corner have only themselves to blame for this disappointment, but they expected it and felt cheated when it didn't come. Now they are busy trying to figure out why.

Israel's friends say it's because the Arabs have not done enough, and the Arabs' friends say it's because Israel has not done anything to make peace feel welcome. One can make a case for the notion that more Arab concessions (although it is becoming increasingly difficult to find concessions that they have not yet made) would facilitate agreement with Israel. It goes without saying that in case of conflict either party can bring about peace by surrendering. But one can make an even better case for the proposition that some Israeli flexibility would facilitate agreement with the Arabs.

When all of that is said, the fact remains that countries at conflict do not make concessions just to be nice; they make concessions when they judge it to be in their interest to do so. And this brings us to the real reason why there is no peace in the Middle East: the balance of power is so lopsided, in Israel's favor, that it sees no good reason for making concessions.

All the talk about whether or not the PLO had made enough concessions, and about whether or not its gestures are sincere and convincing, and all the talk about Shamir's intransigence and Likud's inflexibility does nothing more than scratch the surface of the problem. The real problem is that the U.S. government proclaims and pursues a policy of guaranteeing Israeli military preponderance and regional hegemony. The previous administration let it be known that the U.S. ensures for Israel "military superiority over any combination of Arab states," and through massive and permissive aid ensures that Israel does not feel the economic burden of such a commitment. There are no signs that the present administration has a different opinion on this matter.

*Washington's words tell Israel to be more reasonable,  
but its deeds tell it that it does not have to be.*

Secretary of State Baker can preach all he wants about the wisdom of forsaking the notion of greater Israel. He can send an emissary a day to talk to Shamir about the need to be flexible. He can threaten to his heart's content that he is getting tired and is about to abandon his mediation. As long as U.S. policy is to guarantee Israeli military superiority in the Middle East, there is not likely to be peace in the Middle East. It is as simple as that. Peace is not a dream devoutly to be wished, but a policy to be honestly and vigorously pursued.

Shamir's intransigence makes things more difficult, but it is a derivative problem. The real problem is that American words are undermined by American deeds. Washington's words tell Israel to be more reasonable, but its deeds tell it that it does not have to be.

The Arabs, of course, are not entirely blameless. The power gap in the Middle East is their doing as much as it is anyone else's. They have the resources—human and material—to bridge it...or at least to narrow it sufficiently to make the disregard of their rights a risky business. In that sense they, and Washington, control the future of the Middle East.

Until the real reason for Israel's refusal to listen to anyone are faced, clever formulations will only prolong the agony. □

*M. Hallaj*

## Palestine Perspectives

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Intifada scene by Palestinian artist Tamam Akhal.

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## Of Things Unspoken In A Holy City

By Dr. Barbara Nimri Aziz

Serving an indefinite "life" term in prison in Israel today is a young man 25 years old. I first heard about him on May second, last year, when I read a terrifying news report from Jerusalem: "Two Jews were stabbed to death by a Palestinian". The victims were old, very old, we were told. Felled while waiting at a bus stop in the ancient city, they were knifed by a man attacker shouting "Allah Akbar".

On the last day of Ramadan, the month-long Muslim fast, this had happened. The festival days of *Id* had just begun, the days when Muslim families come together in celebration. I knew that no normal man would carry out such an act on this day. I also knew his cry to God as he lunged at his victims signaled his resolve of suicide.

What could drive someone to this terrible crime? And who is this Palestinian? I asked.

I learned first that his name is Nidal.

Such an unlucky name: Nidal; a name full of mystery and fear, the name of a lawless, shadowy Arab who strikes down the innocent.

In the U.S. press, accounts of the incident were sketchy; no papers carried the usual gory pictures or detailed eyewitness accounts. The victims were reported to be lawyers. About the attacker, we were told nothing. But I learned he was from a village near Jerusalem.

Once before I visited there. And now I wanted to return to find out what made the young Nidal do this.

I arrived in the West Bank in November, and I began asking about Nidal Zalloum. Everybody knew the Zalloum family. Abdul Raezk Zalloum, the boy's father, with degrees in psychology and education as well as theology, directs the Islamic Science College in Jerusalem. Nidal's mother and Abdul Raezk have a daughter and two other boys. Nidal, they say, is the most outstanding.

With no chance of visiting Nidal in prison, I sought out his parents whose house lay outside Ramallah, on the road to Nablus. There was no phone there, but any taxi driver, I was told, could locate the house. I left.

We drove north. Soon the taxi turned off the main road and stopped at an intersection. A lone house with a curved facade hugged both sides of the corner. This was the house of Zalloum. I looked over and saw it was vacant, shuttered up, its windows smashed and boarded. "The family is gone; put out," a man on the road told us.

The taxi driver remembered the day. "It was May third. They were given an hour. Dozens of soldiers and military cars arrived and cut off the neighborhood. Roads were blocked on all sides; a big military operation."

I stared out of the taxi window at the bleak sight, then pressed on. The family had moved up the road so we drove in that direction. It was turning dark. When we located the house, the driver wanted to leave. He would pick me up after an hour.

I walked up the path and pressed the buzzer.

For a long time Nidal Zalloum's mother questioned me at the door. She was nervous. I feared she would turn me away. Then I saw two men approaching, one old and one young. The man with the curly, graying hair, I knew would be Abdul Raezk. With him stood his youngest son.



*Nidal Zalloum in cap and gown*

He listened to me explain why I had come; then he said to his wife, "What harm can it do?" and he led me inside. Already I sensed dignity in this family; but I was unprepared for what I would learn in the next hour.

The sitting room was newly painted and still not completely furnished. "The other House?"

Nidal's mother spoke in careful, clear English. "The Israelis shouted at me that my son was a criminal; they said something insulting about my religion."

Abdul Raezk interrupted, "My children and I managed to get some of the furniture into the street before they began smashing windows. I refused to sign the paper but the military sealed the house anyway."

The room was slowly filling with people, some family, others neighbors, who had followed Abdul Raezk and me inside. They stood as if in testimony. "My boy graduated from Birzeit University two years ago, the top student in the college. He was a poet, also a scholar of literature." The father paused, then he went on: "In prison now, they keep my son in a 'special unit', where he is not allowed books. He and other prisoners are on strike, protesting their treatment."

Nidal's mother turned to the photo on the wall, to the handsome bearded face of a young man in his academic gown and cap. She went to the next room and brought back a snapshot to show me, a full length photo. "Look at his hands," she said. "Look at his hands." Held against his black gown, I saw they were raw and bony.

"He lost 20 kilograms in prison then. Just before his graduation. They took him away, without giving a reason. He couldn't graduate with his class, so he didn't deliver the valedictory address he had been preparing.

*(continued on page 15)*

## A Government of Illusions

**W**e Israelis are ruled by illusions. The illusion that Yitzhak Shamir's political initiative will lead to the peace process. The illusion that it is possible to rule another people indefinitely. The illusion that the Jewish character of the state of Israel can be preserved, when there is a serious demographic problem. The illusion that an occupation can be enlightened. The illusion that an occupier can be moral, without corrupting or being corrupted.

The illusion that the whole world will not be against us. The illusion that we can depend on the support of the Jewish people, even if public opinion in their countries is against us. The illusion that we can survive economically in the face of an unending, sophisticated arms race.

The illusion that the Palestinian rejection front will continue to act in accordance with the wishes of the Israeli government and extricate it from tight spots. The illusion that there are Palestinians who do not support the PLO. The illusion that a popular uprising can be crushed by force.

The illusion that in our area, politics is the art of the impossible. The illusion that statesmen can replace good sense. The illusion that time is on our side. . . .

**Levi Morav, *Al Hamishmar*, 15 September 1989**

## Peace as Deception

**W**hen they say "shalom," what do they mean? Do they mean peace? Or unconditional surrender?

Is peace [only] war by different means? Is peace a demand for a surrender not on the battlefield? Is "peace" simply deceit?

What a country! When the word "peace" is uttered here, peace recoils and darkness descends.

For that "peace" is a fraud, the "peace initiative" a distraction, the "peace plan" a red herring, and "elections in the territories" a deception—all false words that no one is foolish enough to believe. . . .

They promise "to protect" Palestinians who are tempted to take part in "peace talks" and to hold "elections" in the territories so that representatives who meet the approval of the Jews can be elected. They promise that after the "peace initiative," the Arabs will accept the Jews' plan, and that after they have exhausted the world with pretenses for postponement, with intransigence and refusal—peace will be achieved, that is, the Palestinians will agree to unconditional surrender.

This is what they promise us. And the majority of Israelis support the plan: peace with Palestinians without Palestinians.

An amazing peace, in which the Palestinians agree to make all of the concessions and receive none of the gains. A peace that will lead to the next war—the Middle East against Israel. . . .

Beware, beware of all those who say "peace," "peace initiative," "peace plan," or "elections in the territories"—deception ahead. And worse: blood and death and destruction.

**Yizhar Smilansky, *Davar*, 6 October 1989**

## The Fear of Peace

**T**he Likud has to understand...that it's possible to object to an international conference, American talks with the PLO, changes in the elections proposal, and Mubarak's ten points, but it's not possible to continue indefinitely to act like blind rabbits caught in the headlights of a speeding car every time someone threatens us with peace. . . .

There is method behind this madness: long ago the Likud leadership figured out that peace could be achieved only at the price of concessions it is unwilling to make. The various and sundry arguments used by Likud ministers to reject every peace initiative do not stem from a concern lest attempts at negotiation fail, but from a dread of their succeeding. The excuses sound inarticulate, because they carry a double message: they are designed to justify Israel's intransigence to the world outside while telling voters at home that the outside world can go to hell. But the game can't go on forever. Sooner or later the voters will have to make a real decision: whether they prefer to see the present situation continue until further notice, which is liable to be the announcement of a liquidation sale.

Until that time, we can watch the circus, in which the Likud leaders go out of their way to hide the fact that the terrible danger they are trying to avoid is not the Intifada, and not the next war, but peace.

**Yosef Lapid, *Maariv*, 22 September 1989**

## The New Hottentots

**O**ver the past two years hundreds of homes have been demolished in the territories. This is still going on, and the banality of it is more frightening than the extent of the damage. We've grown used to getting up in the morning, looking out the window and seeing in the distance, near the sunrise, another house in ruins and an entire family sitting amongst the shambles.

The law books of enlightened states (and unenlightened ones as well) include no such punishment. Even among the articles that permit a man to be hanged by the neck until he is dead, there is no such provision, and I honestly don't know where Yitzhak Rabin got the idea. No court in the world will hand down a verdict of home demolition, unless the structure was built illegally. Even the Hottentot court would not pass such a sentence, because they, too, follow the morality of the prophets—the guilty soul shall die, but the son shall not carry the sin of the father and the father shall not carry the sin of the son. . . .

In the new land of the Hottentots, which used to be the land of the prophets, not only homes of guilty persons are destroyed, but also those of persons suspected of crimes. There is no waiting for proof of a man's guilt; the destruction is carried out forthwith, and the Defense Minister takes the place of the President of the Court, area commanders the place of district judges, and officers those of municipal court judges. They are the judges, and the jailers and the prosecutors: like God. . . .

**Yossi Sarid, *Haaretz*, 28 September 1989**

## A Child From Hebron

By Steve Sosebee

Around noon on November 4, 1989, the Abu Sneineh family was preparing to eat their midday meal on the open back porch, where the warm fall sun provided the heat that the modest house lacked. About twenty meters away, an Israeli patrol of six soldiers strolled by. The familiar scene did not evoke much curiosity, until the loud explosion occurred.

The father, 40 year old Omar, recalls the blast: "All I remember was looking up and seeing my kids lying around the porch which was covered in blood. They were shouting for help." The blast and the cries of the children quickly brought neighbors, and two boys ran and came back with doctors from the small hospital down the hill.

Dr. Samir Kamal recalls the situation at the house when he arrived. "There were many children bleeding. One child, Mansour I think, had both legs and a hand completely blown off. We had to act quickly to get the injured to a hospital before they died."

The explosion occurred at the edge of the cement porch nearest to 13-year-old Mansour, who was at that moment taking off his shoes, and where his sister, 14-year-old Sabah was washing her hands. They sustained the worst injuries. Mansour lost his legs and his right hand. Shrapnel lodged in his brain cannot be removed. His sister's legs were broken and shrapnel wounds scarred her face and body. Other members of the family suffered less serious wounds.

The only members of the family to escape were away at the time. 16-year-old Ahmed was in Jerusalem with his uncle, and 10-year-old Mohammed had gone inside the house at the moment of the explosion to get a fork.

No one paid for the crime. The Israelis opened an "investigation." They started out by accusing the oldest son, Ahmed, because he had spent a fair part of his childhood in prisons on suspicion of making Molotov cocktails. When it was confirmed that Ahmed had been in Jerusalem at the time of the explosion, the Israeli police turned to the father, who became their "prime suspect." The father, who sustained face and stomach wounds but no injuries to his hands—which

contradicts the theory of accidental explosion during the preparation of a bomb—said "only a madman would build a bomb in the middle of his children." The investigators dropped the theory that a family member was responsible for the blast, particularly after bomb experts speculated that the blast was caused by an anti-tank shell. The blast became another unsolved crime.

Witnesses, however, testified to seeing Israeli soldiers at the time of the explosion. Um Rajab, a neighbor, said she saw an Israeli patrol leaving the area immediately after the blast. Mansour said that he saw soldiers near his house before he went in for lunch. Such reports and previous Palestinian experiences with Israeli soldiers were enough to convince the people of Hebron that Israeli soldiers are not above lobbing an explosive device at a Palestinian family sitting for lunch in an open porch.

Israeli investigators carried away all evidence of the explosion. Neighbors and family members were threatened with arrest if they kept talking about seeing soldiers in the area. One neighbor said: "I was told that we are to tell people and the press that we don't know the cause of the blast; only God knows." Three weeks after the explosion a tear gas canister was thrown into the Abu Sneineh house at a time when there were no clashes or demonstrations in the neighborhood. The grandmother, the only one at home at the time, was hospitalized for



Mansour Abu Sneineh, 13

nine days for tear gas inhalation.

On Christmas day I made my weekly visit to Mansour at the Makassed Hospital in Jerusalem, where he and his sister Sabah are still hospitalized. Mansour wants to know when he can leave with his new legs. One day his doctor will have to tell him that, being a Palestinian child living under foreign military rule, he is not likely to have new legs. □

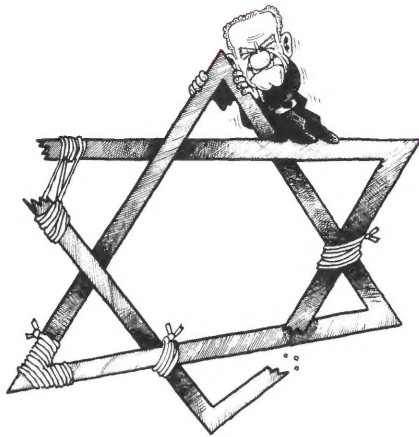
Steve Sosebee is an American freelance writer now living in Jerusalem

### New Books

- **George T. Abed**, *The Economic Viability of a Palestinian State*. Washington: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1990. [Reviewed in this issue]
- **David McDowall**, *Palestine and Israel: The Uprising and Beyond*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989.
- **Michael Palumbo**, *The Palestinian Catastrophe: The 1948 Expulsion of a People From Their Homeland*. London: Faber and Faber, 1987.
- **Audrey Shabbas and Ayad Al-Qazzaz, eds.**, *Arab World Notebook: Secondary School Level*. Berkeley: Najda, 1989.
- **Milton Viorst**, *Reaching for the Olive Branch: UNRWA and Peace in the Middle East*. Washington: The Middle East Institute, 1989.

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## The Shamir-Sharon Feud



*Middle East International, 16 February 1990*

In February, the chaotic Israeli political scene acquired ominous potentialities. After the open split of Likud's leadership, with the resignation of Ariel Sharon, the chairman of Likud's policymaking central committee, from the Israeli cabinet, the Israeli problem degenerated from paralysis and inability to participate in the peace process to an explosive internal power struggle which threatens civil war and possibly regional war.

Now, there are two very dangerous possible scenarios to the future of this internal political struggle in Israel, both of which can trigger large-scale violence in the region.

\*\*\*

*Israel is at a point in its career when it fears peace with the Arabs more than it fears war with them.*

*That is why such seemingly far-fetched scenarios are not far-fetched at all.*

### First Scenario

Ariel Sharon, known neither for moderation nor self-restraint, is also known to have been involved in arming Jewish settlers in the occupied Palestinian territories of the West Bank and Gaza. Israeli sources indicate that his target are not only the Palestinians but also any Israeli government willing to compromise on the future of the occupied territories. By threatening civil war, Sharon hopes to abort Palestinian-Israeli peace by obstructing compromise.

With the influx of Soviet Jewish immigrants, the settler movement is likely to be strengthened, not only in the sense that the number of settlers will increase but also in the sense that Israeli hardliners—inspired by Sharon—would have a stronger argument for keeping the occupied West Bank and Gaza under Israeli control. Shamir's statement that larger immigration required a larger Israel reflects this attitude.

This development, coupled with the fact that Sharon represents a trend in Israel which advocates an even more brutal policy to suppress the Palestinian uprising, create a situation in which the split in Likud—not to speak of policy differences with the Labor party—can escalate into a larger conflict. One possibility is that, in order to impose a fait accompli, Sharon's fascist constituency would provoke widespread settler violence in the occupied territories, leading to occasional skirmishes between armed settlers and the Israeli occupation army. Sharon can then use the resulting conflict to scare more Israelis into believing that the price of peace with the Palestinians is an Israeli civil war. In that way, he would be able to accomplish from outside the cabinet what he was unable to achieve from within it. He would not only discredit his rival, Yitzhak Shamir, as an inept leader, but also to discredit the notion that Israel has an interest in bargaining over the future of the West Bank and Gaza.

The game may get out of control, and the situation may go beyond posturing. In Israel, there are two problems which together create a situation of potential civil war. One, a substantial segment of Israeli society either has no democratic tradition or believes that Western-style democracy

clashes with the concept of "Jewish state." Meir Kahane is the principal articulator of this view, but he has a zealous constituency which also finds Sharon appealing as a potential "Jewish Caesar" who would one day "save Israel from itself."

The second factor, is that Israel is a very deeply divided society: between European and non-European, and between secular and religious. The profound socio-religious conflicts in Israel can easily transform the feud between ruling elites into social disintegration. Under such conditions, civil war and the possibility of military takeover cannot be ruled out, no matter how much they appear unlikely in view of prevailing myths about Israeli stability and solidarity.

### Second Scenario

The Israeli right wing, being aware of the explosive tensions within Israeli society, may attempt to avert impending disaster by a foreign adventure which would enable it to achieve its purposes without risking civil war. The most likely way to achieve that would be to stir up enough unrest in neighboring Jordan to give Israel the pretext of intervention. Consider the following possibility:

Israel undertakes covert action in Jordan, possibly involving the assassination of King Hussein. The country is thrown in turmoil. Israel declares that it cannot live with "another Lebanon" on its borders and proclaims its fear of a takeover of Jordan's government by "Muslim fundamentalists." It all sounds credible, in view of the results of the recent parliamentary elections, and Israel's concerns appear to the outside world as justified.

Israel intervenes militarily "for security reasons." It declares its intention to withdraw from Jordan as soon as order is restored and a "moderate" Jordanian government is able to control the situation. In the meantime, large numbers of Palestinians from the occupied West Bank and Gaza are "transferred" (i.e. evicted) to Jordan. Israel has fewer Palestinian subjects to cope with, and more land to settle more immigrants. Then it withdraws from Jordan and demands acclaim for its role in bringing stability to the region. □

■ *Support our work and subscribe to Palestine Perspectives. Use the subscription order in this issue. Thank you.* ■

## Conscience Behind Bars

### *Israeli Refusenik Imprisoned A Third Time*

Israeli editor and peace activist Adam Keller has been sentenced to 28 days in prison for refusing to serve in the Israeli army. Keller, the editor of *The Other Israel* newsletter, said in his trial that he refuses "to be a smoothly working cog" in the Israeli occupation machine.

Keller had been imprisoned twice before for refusing army service. In 1984 he served a month in prison for refusing to serve in Lebanon, and in 1988 he was imprisoned for three months for writing anti-occupation slogans on 150 Israeli army vehicles while serving in a noncombatant capacity.

This time, Keller refused to wear Israeli army uniform, even though the unit to which he was to be assigned was not serving in occupied Palestine. A petition on his behalf, prepared by the "Israeli Prisoners of Conscience" organization, explained that as the South African army is an instrument of apartheid, the Israeli army is an instrument of oppressing the Palestinian people.

During his trial, Keller said: "I feel that the situation in the occupied territories, in which the killing of children has become a daily routine, does not leave me any choice but to take such an extreme step. I am not any more able to wear the same uniform as the four Givati soldiers are wearing, those four sadistic thugs who beat a Palestinian to death in front of his children, and were pardoned by the army's supreme command." [The reference here is to the beating death of a 47-year-old Hani Shami, a refugee from Jabalya camp in the Gaza Strip in August 1988 by soldiers of the Israeli Givati Brigade, a crime for which they were given a nominal sentence then pardoned and released].

In prison, Adam Keller is reported to be on a hunger strike. His firm opposition to the occupation, however, seems to be paying off, because the Israeli military establishment has given up on trying to break Keller, and he will no longer be required to serve in the army. □

## The Iron Fist Tightens

Taking advantage of the shift of attention by the world media to Eastern Europe, the Israeli occupation authorities have escalated repression of the Palestinian uprising. Recently, the Israeli occupation army began "sealing" the homes of Palestinians suspected of rock-throwing, a penalty that has been reserved for persons involved in attacking Israeli troops with petrol bombs.

The Israeli army justified the harsh penalty by saying that "the danger of stone-throwing, [is] a phenomenon still deeply rooted and lately, to our regret, on the increase."

The sealing and demolition of homes is a form of collective punishment which victimizes all members of a family, and the punishment is always inflicted on suspicion, without trial. Recently, the house of a refugee family in Ein el-Sultan refugee camp near Jericho, was demolished because a son was suspected of throwing a petrol bomb at an Israeli army vehicle. The United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA) reported in its 31 January 1990 newsletter that "the son had moved out of the house four years ago." The family now lives in a tent donated by UNRWA. □

## The Children Are Hungry

### *Fear of Arrest Keeps Them Away*

The Israeli Association for Civil Rights reports that refugee children in the Gaza Strip are going hungry by staying away from food distribution centers in order to avoid arrest and "violent conduct" by Israeli troops at road blocks. The Association's report, submitted to the Israeli Southern Area [Gaza] Commander said: "Children who come to U.N. distribution points in the Gaza Strip are arrested by IDF soldiers for rock throwing and questioned for long hours... The violent conduct of the soldiers at the distribution points has caused a drastic reduction in the number of children aged three to ten who receive sandwiches and drinks.

The Israeli daily *Hadashot* said that only 300 children now show up for their food rations at one distribution center in Jabalya refugee camp, compared to 700 before the intifada. At another center in the same camp, 1,000 children now dare to go for their food compared to 1,500 before; and at Beit Hanun the number went down from 1,100 to 700 children. □

## **No Longer in Our Name—No Longer With Our Tax Dollars**

### **ACT ON CONSCIENCE for Israel/Palestine** **A National Campaign for Responsible Foreign Aid**

The people of Beit Sahour refuse to pay taxes to finance their own oppression. . .

Israeli Jews are jailed for refusing to serve in the military forces that carry out the oppression. . .

We Americans must escalate our own level of involvement and hold our own government accountable for collaborating in that oppression.

#### **On April 14, 15, and 16 (tax filing day)**

—Join with thousands of others across the country to protest U.S. complicity—moral, legal, diplomatic and financial—in Israel's escalating human rights assault on the Palestinian people in their struggle for national rights.

—Call on the Administration and Congress to comply with U.S. laws which prohibit military and economic assistance to "any country the government of which is engaged in a consistent pattern of gross violations of internationally recognized human rights."

—Participate in demonstrations, lobbying efforts, educational forums, and acts of moral and religious witness.

**To participate or contribute: ACT ON CONSCIENCE,  
P.O. Box 21104, Washington, DC 20009 (202) 939-6050  
(Checks payable to Act On Conscience)**

Hilda Silverman & Richard J. McDowell, National Coordinators; Anan Ameri, Chairperson

## "Quote Unquote"

"As an old Israeli joke has it: the main difference between South Africa and Israel is that South Africa's gold comes from under South African hills, while Israel's gold comes from under a certain hill in Washington DC."

**Dr. Israel Shahak**

*Middle East International*  
2 February 1990

"A new tribalism is abroad in the land [of Israel], nurtured by ethnocentric chauvinism and religious obscurantism."

**Allan E. Shapiro**

*The Jerusalem Post Int'l.*  
6 January 1990

"The industrial, developed world is moving forward, from the hatreds of the past to the prosperity of the present and the open frontiers of the future. We are the only ones treading in place. The world is changing and we are standing still."

**Amnon Rubenstein**

*Yediot Aharonot*  
14 September 1989

"It's not possible to continue indefinitely to act like blind rabbits caught in the headlights of a speeding car every time someone threatens us with peace."

**Yosef Lapid**

*Ma'ariv*  
22 September 1989

## Where's the Book?

The most thorough study of the Zionist conquest of Palestine and the terrorization and expulsion of the Palestinian people in 1948 does not seem to be available to the American reader. The book by Michael Palumbo is called *The Palestinian Catastrophe: The 1948 Expulsion of a People From Their Homeland*, was published in 1987 in London by Faber and Faber.

The book recounts and documents Zionist atrocities against the Palestinians in shocking detail, and the many massacres and looting which accompanied the conquest of Palestine.

*Palestine Perspectives* would be interested to hear from any of its readers who finds the book in any U.S. book store or library. □

## Book Review

### The Economy of Independent Palestine

**George T. Abed**, *The Economic Viability of a Palestinian State*. Washington: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1990. 42 pages.

Since the mid-1970's, when the PLO began to shift from the "democratic secular state" to the "two state solution" to the Arab-Zionist conflict in Palestine, and since a world consensus began to emerge in favor of establishing a Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza, a number of studies appeared on the question of the "economic viability" of such a state. Although such studies invariably concluded that a state in the West Bank and Gaza Strip should be reasonably viable, the issue continues to be debated. One suspects that the economic viability of a Palestinian state is questioned at least partly to discredit the idea, to circumvent the overpowering political argument concerning the right of the Palestinian people to statehood in at least a part of their ancestral homeland.

George Abed's monograph is the most recent of the studies on the economic viability of a Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Although it is much briefer than the others (*The Economic Case for Palestine, Benefits and Burdens, The West Bank: Is It Viable?*), it is no less enlightening. In fact, it comes closer to being a more comprehensive treatment because it not only looks at the economic resources and conditions of such a state, but it also proposes a well-thought out scheme for reconstruction, economic restructuring and development to ensure self-sustaining growth and a reasonably high standard of living for the citizens of the future Palestinian state.

The author—a well-known Palestinian economist—is fully aware of the fact that the economic viability of the state of Palestine depends, first of all, on the nature of the political settlement that brings it about. And here he does not fantasize; he postulates a reasonable scenario which closely parallels prevailing world opinion on how the Palestinian-Israeli conflict ought to be resolved. His study, the author says, is based on the assumption that the political settlement will incorporate the following principles:

■ Israeli withdrawal from the part of Palestine occupied in 1967.

■ The establishment of an independent Palestinian state in the freed territories.

■ The implementation of the refugees right of return and/or compensation.

■ The return of Palestinian land and water appropriated by Israel during the occupation.

■ Reciprocal arrangements on all outstanding issues such as mutual security, treatment of nationals, etc.

By these guidelines, the author is not only saying that Israel's attempt to concede as little as possible (if anything) is not only unwise because it obstructs a settlement, but even if a settlement is reached it will produce a Palestinian homeland which—because it lacks adequate space, resources, and freedom—will not be stable because its viability would be undermined. On the other hand an independent state in the West Bank and Gaza, able to engage in regional and international relations, in control of its resources and at peace with its neighbors would be able to absorb and rehabilitate the bulk of camp refugees currently in exile, as well as the "internal refugees" in the West Bank and Gaza, and would be able to provide its citizens with employment and standard of living comparable to that of Greece, higher than the standard of living in most Third World countries.

Of course, the author does not minimize the challenges that the new state would have to face and overcome. These include the reorientation and the restructuring (as well as the development) of an economy that has been for decades made prisoner of the Israeli economy. They include a colossal job of building up a long-neglected infrastructure which will be overburdened with a rapid rise in population. And they include massive training and retraining of a labor force that has been deliberately distorted to serve the needs of a colonizing and exploiting market.

The study makes estimates of the cost of meeting these challenges and of bringing the Palestinian economy to the level of self-sustaining growth within a 10-12 year period. And it is certainly less than the cost (not to speak of the risk) of continued conflict. □

## Congress and the Question of Foreign Aid

### *Will Congress Have the Nerve to Address the Issue?*

Senator Robert Dole's proposal that the share of the five biggest recipients of American aid should be cut in order to help the "emerging democracies" in Eastern Europe and needy Latin American Countries deserves a proper hearing.

The survival of the reformist movement in Eastern Europe seems to depend more than anything else on the availability of outside assistance to increase productivity. American economic assistance can be crucial. Besides, U.S. foreign aid has never been seriously evaluated, neither as charity nor as an instrument of foreign policy. In view of the fact that an unprecedented opportunity now exists throughout the world to contribute to a more peaceful and stable world order, Senator Dole's proposal should be high on the agenda of the U.S. Congress.

#### *Israel Squirms*

Israel is always uncomfortable with any proposition which might lead to scrutiny of its "entitlements". Senator Dole's proposal obviously raises the question of who deserves how much of the pie, and Israel and its friends could not possibly justify—in an open debate—why Israel, the least needy of all recipients of U.S. foreign aid, gets fifteen or twenty times as much per capita aid than the second biggest recipient. What puts Israel and its friends in a particularly uncomfortable position is that it was Senator Dole who proposed cuts in Israel's share. Dole is not known as an opponent of Israeli interests. He is close to the administration, his personal integrity—a vanishing virtue in public life—is unquestioned, he is a leader in the senate and his party, and he has a national constituency. Neither he nor his ideas can be dismissed as inconsequential.

What is it really that bothers Israel about giving up a small portion of its hefty slice of the aid pie?

For one thing, the proposal came at a bad time for Israel, a time when it can use all the money it can get to settle the expected influx of Soviet settlers, and at a time when its policies in occupied Palestine and toward the

peace process are making many American Jews (not to mention other Americans) question the wisdom of subsidizing Israel.

Secondly, the Israeli lobby in Washington—whose main mission has always been to delve deeper and deeper in the American cookie jar—is afraid that its reputation of omnipotence would be shattered. If it can be challenged in the arena of its highest priority—getting U.S. aid for Israel—it can be challenged on other matters. In short, it fears a "domino effect" which would ultimately collapse its impressive house of cards in Washington. This is particularly worrisome to Israel and its friends at a time when the American public is, for the first time, questioning the morality and the value of the peculiar relationship with Israel.

#### **American Jews Vacillate**

A recent poll of American Jewish leaders, funded by the Israel-Diaspora Institute, an Israeli think tank, revealed that most of them disagree with Israel's policy toward the Palestinians but are not willing to influence it. A substantial majority (76 percent) favored trading land for peace, which the Israeli government rejects, to settle the conflict with the Palestinians. On the other hand, 88 percent of them thought that American Jews should not be involved in influencing Israel's "foreign policy" although they favored involvement on "Jewish issues" such as the question of "Who is a Jew."

The results of the survey, supervised by New York Queens College Professor Steven M. Cohen, reminds one of Arthur Ruppin, an early Zionist leader who was disturbed by the destructive impact of Zionist colonization in Palestine on the Palestinian population but continued to head the Zionist colonization department. A Jewish historian who was subsequently disillusioned with Zionism, and who was a friend of Ruppin, remarked that Ruppin served Zionist politics and confined his conscience to his diaries. □

Finally, Israel and its friends are disturbed by the idea that Israeli interests are not above and beyond America's changing priorities and, for that reason, are not immune to the calculus of the American national interest. Israel has gotten away with so much because, and only because, its relationship with America has been placed beyond rationality. U.S. policy toward Israel has been the secular equivalent of religious Zionism, governed by the notion that Israel is not to be judged like all nations.

#### *Will It Happen?*

Israel is disturbed by the idea itself, but will Congress act on the idea?

On a recent talk show on C-SPAN television, where Dole's proposal was the subject of discussion, every single viewer who called supported reducing aid to Israel. The callers, of course, do not constitute a scientific national sample, but their views confirm a fact shown by repeated polls. There is a large constituency in the country for reducing aid to Israel. If Congress really reflected national opinion—on issues relating to Israel—reducing aid to Israel would find much support in Congress. It is also reported that Senator Dole's constituency mail is overwhelmingly in favor of reducing aid to Israel.

But lobbies work mostly in the corridors, not in the chamber. And their ability to frustrate public opinion is what keeps them going.

There are signs already that many members of Congress would do everything possible to keep the issue in the corridors, to make sure they are spared the public embarrassment of having to take a stand. As Dole himself has said: the idea has much support in the cloak rooms of Congress, but will it show up on the floor? □

#### **DEAR READERS**

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## The Double Standard of Congressional Liberals

Liberals in the U.S. Congress who champion human rights and democratic freedoms everywhere in the world, and who insist on the incorporation of such concerns in U.S. foreign policy, have a blind spot when it comes to Israel's treatment of the Palestinian people. Writing in the November 1989 issue of *The Progressive* magazine, Stephen Zunes, professor of politics at Whitman College in Washington State, writes that "Just as an older generation of leftists often dismissed legitimate concerns about human rights violations in socialist countries as an imperialist disinformation campaign, so this generation of liberals, in its dream of the Zionist ideal, dismisses legitimate concerns over Israeli human rights violation as anti-Semitism."

### Why?

The writer attributes the liberal double standard on Israel to a variety of causes which include the following:

1. Their fear of antagonizing the powerful pro-Israel lobby and pro-

Israel public action committees which dispense millions of dollars to political candidates.

2. There is an element of racism, the author says, in the way some "liberal" politicians view the Arabs. When the Arab-American Democratic Federation was first formed in 1986, the writer says, a staff member of the Democratic National Committee admitted that they "don't want Arabs in the party."

3. The author says that there is a "machismo factor" involved in the liberal support for Israel. "It's one foreign policy issue where liberals can show they're tough," says an aide to a prominent liberal member of Congress. "If my boss is ever given flak about being soft on defense or weak in backing our allies, we can always point to his support of Israel."

### The Result

The result is that congressional liberals not only refrain from criticizing Israel but support its policies and in fact underwrite them with the most massive program of Ameri-

can assistance which gives Israel 38 percent of all foreign aid budget although it has only .001 percent of the world's population. This aid amounts to more than \$1,000 per year for every Israeli Jew, given as outright grants.

Moreover, this aid to Israel is not conditional—as it is in the case of aid to other countries—and is given without regard to its behavior, such as its violations of Palestinian human rights. In fact, the writer says, dictatorial regimes in other areas of the world are sometimes let off the hook because Congressional liberals do not want to jeopardize aid to Israel. For example, Congress dropped two key provisions from a bill relating to sanctions against South Africa (on selling arms and processing South African raw materials) because they would also harm Israel. "Other bills that would have created universal foreign aid standards based on human rights and enforcement of nuclear nonproliferation have also been blocked [in Congress] because of their impact on aid to Israel."

### Cases

This double standard on Israel also blinds the liberal establishment outside of Congress. The author illustrates the widespread nature of this tendency to put Israel above the law by citing actual examples, including the following:

1. The Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy, one of the leading liberal lobbies on Capitol Hill established in 1973, "consistently refused to address the issues of Palestinian rights or U.S. aid for Israel." A Coalition statement in 1981 reaffirmed its support for the "sovereignty, territorial integrity, and political independence" of Middle Eastern states, but explicitly stated that this principle "does not necessarily apply" to lands seized by Israel in the 1967 war. In other words, everyone but the Palestinians.

2. A new "progressive" lobby, National Impact, claims to provide "leadership on peace and justice issues." However, it considers the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, in the words of its director Gretchen Eick, "off limits."

3. The Human Rights Political Action Committee "which raised funds for candidates based on their support for a human rights agenda in U.S. foreign policy, also made an exception regarding Israel." □

### Commentary . . .

#### Secretary Kemp's Job Description

The Washington Times reported on 2 February that Secretary of Housing and Urban Development participated, along with Israel's ambassador in Washington, in a "prayer breakfast" for Israel. Kemp gave the keynote address to the gathering—held in conjunction with the annual convention of the National Religious Broadcasters—and gave Israel advice contradictory to the declared policy of the administration of which he is a member.

Jack Kemp's job, for which the taxpayers support him in style, is to build affordable housing for Americans, not to pray for Israel. Even though members of the U.S. Cabinet are not handed a traditional job description when they are sworn in, their responsibilities are clear enough in the statutes which established their departments. And no one would argue that praying for Israel—alongside evangelical electronic preachers—is one of the duties of the U.S. Secretary of Housing and Urban Development.

Moreover, Mr. Kemp's remarks at the Zionist powwow are an affront to the administration he serves. "I'm proud to stand here today," Mr. Kemp declared, "and say Israel should not give up an inch [of land]." The Israeli ambassador was among the assembled group of Israel cheer leaders. What is he going to report to his government? That the Bush administration only gives lip service to its declared policy regarding the need to trade land for peace. Israel "should only trade peace for peace," Mr. Kemp explained. And do you know whose idea Kemp echoes? Ariel Sharon's. It is Sharon, the right fringe of the right wing in Israel who says what Jack Kemp echoes.

So what's the Israeli ambassador going to report to his government? That the Bush administration tolerates—in fact advocates—the most extreme Israeli views.

In any other government, and in any other situation, no cabinet minister can get away with such abuse of his office. Then why is Mr. Kemp's abuse hardly noticed? □

# "Stop This Slide Toward Violence"

*Senator Abourezk Urges Congress to Make Aid to Israel Conditional*

Disturbed by the prospect of intensified settler violence in the occupied Palestinian territories and more rigid Israeli policy on withdrawal from these territories, former South Dakota Senator James Abourezk called on Congress to make its aid to Israel conditional on stopping Jewish settlements in occupied Palestine. The expected influx of hundreds of thousands of Soviet Jews, many of whom will undoubtedly be settled in the West Bank and Gaza, is generally understood to be the most destabilizing factor in an already volatile situation in the area. They become a convenient excuse for Israel's continued control of the occupied territories, and since Jewish settlers are armed and led by fanatical right wingers they operate as vigilantes exacerbating the explosive tensions between Israel and the Palestinians.

In his letter to his former colleagues in the U.S. Congress, the founder and chairman of the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee wrote that "a number of factors have come together to produce what could be an extremely volatile situation, both for the people of the Middle East and for the United States." These factors include the Soviet decision to permit large-scale Jewish emigration, and U.S. recent decision to limit the entry of Jews into the United States, leaving them no choice but to go to Israel, where many of them would become settlers in the occupied Palestinian territories.

"Aside from the issue of the illegal transporting of people into an occupied land," said Senator Abourezk, "the practical effect of this policy will be to further displace the Palestinians who live there." Furthermore, the settlement of large numbers of Soviet immigrants in the occupied territories would lead to "violent confrontation between the Palestinians and the new immigrants, and to make it politically impossible for the Israeli government to exchange land for peace, which is the ultimate goal of American policy."

"Congress can stop this slide toward violence," Abourezk wrote, "by finally putting its foot down." The only way, he said, to keep Israel from continuing on this destructive course "would be for Congress to condition further aid to Israel on whether or not its



*James Abourezk*

government disallows all settlement activity—whether building new ones, or adding to old ones, or by allowing settlers to go to the territories."

"The failure of the U.S. government to act affirmatively now on this issue," warned the letter, "will result in a great deal of unnecessary violence in the near future. That's something Americans should not have to pay for." □

## Israel Pressures CNN Television

The Jerusalem bureau chief for CNN Television is facing a campaign of professional and personal attacks in the Israeli media for alleged "anti-Israel bias." The accusations are usually attributed to anonymous former employees of CNN.

A parallel campaign of pressure on CNN is also being mounted in the United States by the Anti-Defamation League and other Zionist instruments. The ADL has written to CNN headquarters in Atlanta complaining about the network's coverage of the Palestinian uprising. CNN executive Ed Turner issued a statement deploring the personal attacks on the network's Jerusalem bureau chief, Robert Wiener, and said that CNN makes every effort to report fairly and accurately and that "we stand by our coverage and the bureau chief." □

## A Coverup of Israeli Drug Connection?

An Israeli "businessman" was found slain and locked up in the trunk of a car parked at Miami International Airport at the end of January. Ariel Afek's rotting corpse was found after complaints of foul smell coming out of the parked vehicle were received by the police. A business associate said that Afek often bragged that he once worked for Israeli military intelligence. He was wanted by the Colombian authorities for involvement with Israeli reserve Lt. Col. Yair Klein for training hit squads for the Colombian drug dealers. Klein surfaced in Israel after his activities were exposed by American newsmen.

Although the investigation of Afek's murder is surrounded by secrecy, it is known that the focus of the investigation is on the Israeli-Colombian drug connection. Afek had been under surveillance by more than one law enforcement agency, and shortly before he was gunned down he was questioned by the U.S. secret service which was trying to find out if the Colombian drug lords had weapons capable of shooting down President Bush's plane during his drug summit meeting with Latin American leaders.

### Was Afek Silenced?

It is possible that Afek was murdered by Israeli intelligence to keep him from exposing Israel's shady dealings in Latin America. *The Jerusalem Post International* (3 February 1990) said that Afek had been given an American passport in return for information on Israeli activity in Columbia. The fact that he was murdered days after he was questioned by U.S. law enforcement agents leads to speculation that Israel wanted him silenced.

Israel has on many occasions in the past refused to extradite persons suspected of crimes against U.S. citizens (such as the assassination of Alex Odeh) or against U.S. interests (such as the Iran-Contra scandal and the Pollard spying case) or to offer more than perfunctory cooperation in the investigation. Unlike Yair Klein, who escaped to Israel, Ariel Afek lives in Miami and silencing him is the only way to prevent his cooperation with U.S. authorities. □

# ADC Calls for Schifter's Dismissal

*State Department's Human Rights Official Accused of Bias*



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Abdeen Jabara, President of the American Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee (ADC), called on the Bush administration to relieve Richard Schifter, Assistant Secretary of State for Humanitarian Affairs, of his duties. In a letter addressed to President Bush and Secretary of State Baker, Jabara accused Schifter of "unconscionable abuse of office and serious conflict of interest," causing him to water down criticism of Israeli human rights violations in the 1990 State Department report on human rights, and of discriminating against Arab-Americans.

Richard Schifter not only worked "to diffuse criticism of Israel" in the State Department's latest report on human rights by ignoring information available to him, said ADC, but he also betrayed his pro-Israel bias by briefing Jewish American leaders about the report while denying their Arab-American counterparts equal access. Following is the text of ADC news release, dated 20 February, regarding this matter.

### ADC Statement

Abdeen Jabara, President of the American Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee (ADC), today sent letters to President Bush and Secretary of State Baker renewing his request that Assistant Secretary of State for Humanitarian Affairs Richard Schifter be relieved of his duties in the wake of reports that the latter watered down criticism of Israeli human rights abuses in the 1990 State Department Report on Human Rights and that he briefed Jewish American leaders about the report while denying their Arab-American counterparts equal access.

Charging Mr. Schifter, the founding President of the pro-Israel Jewish Institute for National Security Affairs (JINSA), with an unconscionable abuse of office and a serious conflict of interest, Mr. Jabara requested that President Bush and Secretary Baker dismiss Mr. Schifter on grounds of violation of public trust.

"At a time when there is incredible daily suffering by the Palestinian civilian population, it is simply unacceptable that a U.S. government official place the interests of Israel above

those of honesty and objectivity," Mr. Jabara said. Referring to information contained in a *Washington Post* column by Jack Anderson ("Human Rights Report Irks Israel Again," 2/20), Mr. Jabara stated that "Mr. Schifter's willingness to 'defuse criticism of Israel' by ignoring 'dozens of well-researched, classified reports' by Jerusalem Consul General Phillip Wilcox is clear evidence of his unsuitability for public office. The fact that he secretly briefed Jewish American leaders while ignoring their counterparts in the Arab-American community adds insult to injury. The Assistant Secretary's past association with JINSA simply provides the context for an intolerable pattern of bias and abuse of authority."

Mr. Jabara also sent a letter of protest to every member of both Houses of Congress calling for an urgent inquiry into Mr. Schifter's conduct with respect to the Israeli section of the State Department report. He also urged support for public hearings on Israeli human rights practices in the occupied territories.

Calling this year's report on Israeli abuses "an apparent travesty," Mr. Jabara noted that ADC had cooperated fully with the State Department in the preparation of the 1988 report but had been denied access to the findings of this year's report.

Asserting that Arab-Americans have suffered increased human and civil rights abuses in the occupied territories during the past two years, Mr. Jabara argued that "it logically follows that we have a priority interest in the State Department's report."

Commenting on a reported new focus on inter-Palestinian violence in the 1989 human rights report, Jabara said, "This is a thinly-veiled attempt to shift attention away from Israel. As tragic as that violence is, it is not state-sponsored violence and is, therefore, outside the scope of the legislation mandating the report. Palestinian individuals do not receive U.S. foreign aid. Furthermore, any attempt to divert the focus from Israel's deplorable conduct in the West Bank and Gaza would suggest a whitewash. Ambassador Schifter, it would seem, has confused the public interest with the interests of Israel." □

## Documents... Soviet Jewish Colonization in Palestine

The prospect of massive Soviet Jewish immigration to Israel, expected by the Jewish Agency to reach 750,000 in the next few years, is troubling to the Arabs and the world community as a whole. It is expected to have a devastating impact on the Palestinians in the occupied West Bank and Gaza—on whose land many of the new comers will be settled—and a stifling influence on the prospects of Arab-Israeli peace.

The world community was particularly disturbed, and alerted to the dangers of Jewish immigration, by Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir's statement that a larger Israeli population requires a larger Israel. The American, Soviet and other governments criticized Israel's settlement

policy and warned of its adverse effect on the peace process, although Washington's words—as usual—contradicted its deeds. The Bush administration is pressing the Soviet Union to facilitate Jewish immigration by permitting direct flights between Moscow and Tel Aviv. At *Palestine Perspectives* press time, the U.N. Security Council had been called to meeting to deliberate the question of Soviet Jewish settlement.

Below are the texts of two official statements on the threat of Soviet Jewish colonization in Palestine. One by Ambassador Clovis Maksoud, Chief Representative of the League of Arab States in the U.S., and the other by Yuli Vorontsov, First Deputy Soviet Foreign Minister.

### Soviet Statement

The recent developments in the Middle East, not without reason, encouraged certain hope in the world that progress toward the settlement of the long-drawn-out conflict would be started.

This prospect opened up, above all, because of the constructive stand of the Palestine Liberation Organization and the Arab states. They showed convincingly their desire to end the confrontation and ensure a peaceful and secure future for all parties to the conflict, Israel included.

The stand taken by some Israeli leaders is in sharp contrast to this, giving the impression that new obstacles are deliberately being placed in the way of peaceful process.

There is no other way to appraise statements by a number of Israeli politicians, including the head of government, about the need to keep Arab territories in order to resettle arriving immigrants, including those from the Soviet Union.

The Israeli leadership is confirming its annexation of occupied Arab territories and is refusing to seek compromise solutions to the Middle East conflict.

This policy reveals plans to create a "greater Israel" mostly at the expense of the Palestinian people.

Another thing is apparent: the attempts to aggravate tension between settlers and Palestinians in order to suppress the Palestinian uprising.

It should also be noted that annexation of occupied territories defies the United Nations, which urged Israel more than once to refrain from actions that change the situation in the occupied territories, including the demographic situation.

Israel is ostentatiously disregarding international law, specifically the fourth Geneva convention of 1949, which prohibits the settling of not-native populations in occupied territories. Israel is among the signatories to the convention.

There is concern in the Soviet Union over these steps by the Israeli government, which could seriously damage the cause of peace in the Middle East, frustrate settlement and jeopardize the security of all peoples in the region, including the people of Israel.

We are strongly opposed to using, and thus endangering the safety of, persons leaving the U.S.S.R. for the purpose of forcefully removing Palestinians from the land belonging to them. □

### Arab League Statement

At a time when the Arab nation, including the Palestinian people, took historic steps to pursue a peaceful settlement to their conflict with Israel, and at a time when efforts are underway to initiate a process of peaceful settlement, it is a disservice and a reckless gamble to tamper with this fragile opportunity to bring peace to the Middle East. The whole world agrees that undermining the exchange of 'land of peace' formula threatens Arab-Israeli peace by mining the only approaches to it.

By engineering the denial of the freedom of choice to Soviet Jewish immigrants, by leaving most of them no choice of destination except Israel, and by refusing to commit itself against their settlement in the Arab territories, Israel is working to make irrelevant the only basis for reconciling Israeli needs and Arab national rights. This is a recipe for torpedoing the Middle East peace process.

It is not the freedom of movement for Soviet Jews which troubles the Arab people; it is the manner in which it is

being used to effect the usurpation of the Palestinians' right to their homeland. As long as Israel denies the protections of the Geneva Conventions to the occupied territories, as long as its leaders adhere to the view that a larger Israel is needed to accommodate a larger population, and as long as Israel refuses to accept boundaries to its jurisdiction, the Arabs have every right to feel threatened. It is not a consolation to claim that only a small percentage of the new immigrants will become settlers on Arab land, particularly when such pronouncements are given as predictions rather than a statement of Israeli policy. Israel's policy that Jews have the right to settle outside the internationally accepted borders of Israel sets no limits to the possible avalanche of Jewish settlement in occupied Arab lands... Palestinian, Syrian and Lebanese.

The destabilizing impact of such a policy, its obvious disregard of Arab needs and rights, are too obvious to

(continued on page 14)

## European Parliament and Israel

The European Community (EC), acting on the recommendation of the European Parliament in late January 1990, has decided to suspend scientific cooperation with Israel until it permits Palestinian universities to reopen. All Palestinian universities and other institutions of higher learning have been closed by the Israeli occupation army since February 1988. As a result, more than 22,000 Palestinian college students have been denied the right to proceed with their studies, and high school graduates have not had an opportunity to begin college education.

Palestinian educators praised the European Community for its stand and appealed to the international community to pressure Israel into reversing its policy which denies education to a generation of Palestinian youth. *Al-Fajr* (Jerusalem) newspaper quoted Birziet University public relations director Albert Aghazarian saying: "The bleeding of Palestinian Universities has gone too far and is unprecedented in human history, and something must be done to reopen them."

Israeli universities receive research grants from Europe, and it is hoped that, if implemented, the European Community's decision to suspend cooperation with Israeli universities would induce Israel to reconsider its policy of repression against Palestinian educational institutions. Israeli universities receive about \$2 million in annual grants from European sources. □

### COLONIZATION (continued from page 13)

require much elaboration. The issue is not the right of Soviet Jews to a place to live; the real issue is Israel's transgression against the Arabs' rights and the threat of their displacement.

Both the U.S. and Soviet governments have come to realize the explosive potential of this new spurt of Israeli expansionism. The U.S. government said "we strongly oppose the resettlement of Soviet Jews by Israel in the occupied territories—first because of our longstanding opposition to settlements and second because it would affect adversely the search for a comprehensive settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict." The government of the U.S.S.R. has similarly expressed its objection to the use of its emigrating citizens to infringe Arab rights and endanger the search for peace. The U.N. Security Council is about to consider this serious matter, and we call on the U.S. government to be faithful to its long-held view that Jewish Israeli settlements in the occupied territories are illegal as well as detrimental to peace in the Middle East.

Much is at stake here, not least of which is the issue of whether Israel wants to be at peace with its neighbors.

An Arab League delegation of Foreign Ministers will soon visit Washington to convey to the U.S. government the enormity of the risks of an equivocal position on this most serious threat to peace in the Middle East. The Arabs have done and are doing everything conceivable to end the Arab-Israeli conflict in accordance with the international consensus. Israel must not be allowed to rob the peoples of the Middle East of an unparalleled and perhaps unrepeatable opportunity for a comprehensive and lasting peace. □

## In Brief

■ **Women Spies**—Two women were arrested by the Israeli police on 7 January on suspicion of spying for the PLO. One of the women, Victoria David, is Jewish of Yugoslav origin and she immigrated to Israel two years ago. The other woman, Patricia Kanzevich, also of Yugoslav origin, lives in Israel and is in the process of conversion to Judaism.

■ **Talk to PLO**—Spain urged Israel to negotiate with the Palestine Liberation Organization in order to end its conflict with the Arab world. Spanish Prime Minister Felipe Ganzaes urged visiting Israeli Foreign Minister, in late January, to begin a dialogue with the PLO.

■ **Arab Municipalities**—Local governments in Arab towns in Israel went on strike protesting discrimination against them. Many Arab municipalities, receiving much less aid than comparable Jewish municipalities, have been unable to pay employee salaries and feel threatened with total collapse.

■ **Intifada Cost**—The Palestinian uprising has cost the Israeli economy about \$1 billion during the first two years. A report on the cost of the intifada, prepared by Israel's Bank Hapoalim, said much of the cost has been caused by the Palestinian boycott of Israeli products. The occupied territories, a captive market for Israel, have been Israel's second largest market. *The Jerusalem Post* quoted a "senior military source" saying that fighting the Palestinian uprising cost another \$1 billion in military expenditures.

■ **Soviets Want Money**—The Soviet Union, working hard to attract foreign investment, is said to be courting "Jewish tycoons." *The Jerusalem Post International* (10 February 1990) reported that the Soviet Union is "very interested" in hosting a delegation of "Jewish tycoons" from around the world, to be headed by Israel's Finance Minister Shimon Peres.

■ **The Limited**—Leslie Wexner, president of The Limited, one of the world's largest retailers of women's clothes, met Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir at the end of January 1990 and promised him to expand his company's investment in Israel. The Limited works in Israel through a subsidiary called Macpel which employs about 750 workers in the Afula area. The promised expansion is supposed to create several hundred new jobs.

■ **Radio Gush**—A new pirate radio station, broadcasting from a ship off the Israeli coast, is becoming very popular in Israel. "Arutz 7" is only one year old, but it is rapidly becoming the station of choice for right wing Israel. It seems to have connections with the Gush Emunim movement, and to the settlers in the occupied territories. It is said to be financed by a very wealthy British Jewish businessman whose identity is being kept secret.

■ **Made in Palestine**—Jordan and the PLO have agreed on "State of Palestine" labels on agricultural produce exported from the occupied territories. Previously such produce, re-exported through Jordan, carried Jordanian labels.

"Many times he was taken away, jailed for 2 months, then 3; the university was often closed by the military as well. Altogether it took him 7 years to finish his degree."

Now, Abdul Raezk Zalloum told me about the first time soldiers had come and taken Nidal. "It was 1979; he was just fifteen. He wrote nationalist poetry. They imprisoned him for 6 months that time; in jail, he was tortured, with water immersions and 'heat treatment'. After he came home, he began having illusions, and sometimes, all of a sudden at a meal, sitting reading, he cried out. He was tormented.

"Often he was stopped and picked up on the street; his ID card was taken; and they took his driver's license. They lost it, they said. He had to wait many months for a new one, and when he got it the soldiers said they found the lost one. These soldiers knew Nidal is a believer in God. He asked for the Holy Book in prison. The Israelis spat on the Quran in his hands.

"My boy opposes the occupation and he says so. He criticizes the Israelis. When he hears about a family who lost someone, he goes to them. He visits our wounded people in hospitals."

On the sofa to my right sat Moufid, youngest of the three boys, not slight like Nidal but big shouldered and wearing a heavy denim jacket. His complexion is fair, much lighter than his parents' and brothers'. Grim-faced and silent, Moufid stroked a small kitten of the same reddish coloring as his hair. I felt him watching me as I listened to his father.

"Moufid here was picked up last winter, for throwing a stone. They kept him in prison for four months; Nidal tried to get him released. Hearing Moufid was being tortured, he went to the prison, staying all day, from early morning to night. For five days he went but they wouldn't let Nidal see his brother."

The mother spoke again; "In the Ramadan month, too many of our people were killed. Nidal was tormented; after all it was the holy month. He was determined to get to Al Aqsa Mosque—it's our holiest day. With the road to Jerusalem cut I don't know how, but he got through."

Nidal's sister spoke for the first time now. "The two people killed? I read in a Hebrew paper that they were 48, and 39. They were lawyers. This is what was printed in a Hebrew newspaper." Like American people, Israelis first read that both victims were older than 80 and 90 years. "This was later corrected in the Israeli press," she told me. She talked so quietly I asked her to repeat the story.

Moufid moved forward and set the kitten on the carpet. Leaning towards me, he spoke as if reluctantly, yet with immense self control. "There were shots. Those men who died may have been killed by bullets. Two Israeli guards nearby shot into the crowd. The two men fell, and another woman fell. It was not Nidal's knife that killed them." Now the father quietly added. "Nidal swore to me he did not kill those people."

My blue pencil lay on the pad in front of me, still.

"Why," asked Moufid, "aren't you writing this down?"

I was thinking what the *Id* feast means, the importance of brothers and sisters being together. I was remembering this holy month of Ramadan; what others had written down: one of the most terrifying months of the occupation; soldiers breaking into mosques, harassing worshippers. More killed, more wounded; still more imprisoned.

Moufid repeated his question: "Why aren't you writing this down?" □

## Israel Steps on German Toes

The Federal Republic of Germany, for decades Israel's most solicitous friend in Europe, is being repaid with Israel's favorite coin: ingratitude. Twice in recent weeks, Israel has stepped on German toes as the divided nation delicately moves toward reunification.

The Israeli Prime Minister, who sees Nazis under every bed and holocausts around every corner, has been predicting gruesome consequences to German reunification. Late in January, a West German newspaper leaked details of correspondence from Yitzhak Shamir to Chancellor Helmut Kohl in which the Israeli Prime Minister insensitively drew a parallel between current German exhilaration over the prospect of reunification and the Nazi era. According to the German newspaper, Shamir vividly described the anxieties he said that Jews feel about the present wave of "enthusiasm and emotion" and said the Jews could not forget that Germany's cheering crowds in the 1930's led to the holocaust.

A few weeks later, Chancellor Kohl was reportedly angered by Israel's haste in holding talks with the new East German government about the reestablishment of diplomatic relations. European diplomats interpret Israel's move to establish ties quickly with East Germany as an attempt to complicate German reunification by solidifying East Germany's separate identity. □

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## Who's A Soviet Jew?

### *New Settlers Face Genetic Hurdle*

An estimated 30 percent of Soviet Jews expected to move to Israel are believed to be the product of mixed marriages and are, therefore, expected to have their status as Jews questioned in Israel. Israel's Religious Affairs Minister said that a special forum of rabbis has been established "to deal with the question of mixed marriages, conversion and circumcision" among Soviet newcomers. The Interior Ministry has been refusing to register new settlers as Jews unless they produce documentary evidence, which many of them cannot, causing an uproar in Israel and fear that the controversy would obstruct mass immigration.

Four members of the Israeli Knesset have asked for a parliamentary debate, charging that questioning the status of Soviet Jews is "causing ferment among potential immigrants waiting to leave the Soviet Union."

In Israel—where there is no Israeli nationality, but only "Jewish" or "non-Jewish" nationality—persons who are not recognized as Jews stand to lose much in benefits—in education, housing, health and other services provided by the government and Zionist organizations which serve Jews exclusively.

To many immigrants who consider themselves Jewish and who believe that they have endured much hardship in their countries of origin on that account, it is unbearable to discover upon arrival in the Jewish state that they are rejects. It happened to the Falashas, the Ethiopian Jews, and it is now happening to Soviet Jews. □

## Belief in Jesus Disqualifies

Israel, which vehemently asserts that the Jews are a national rather than a religious community, continues to apply the religious test for eligibility. In a recent ruling by the Israeli High Court of Justice, the justices agreed unanimously that Jews who believe in Jesus do not qualify for Israeli citizenship under the Law of Return. The law says that every Jew has a right to come to Israel as an immigrant.

The most recent case of "who is a Jew?" involved Gary and Shirley Beresford, who applied for Israeli citizenship and were denied the privilege by the Interior Ministry on the ground that they withdrew from the Jewish people by believing in Christ. The court agreed, ruling that "Jews who believe in Jesus have withdrawn themselves from the Jewish people."

The Beresfords were born as Jews in South Africa. They married in 1982 and applied for immigration to Israel under the Law of Return, but a Jewish Agency official discovered that the couple belonged to a group known as "Jews for Jesus" and their request for an Israeli immigrant visa was denied. Then they went to Israel as tourists in 1986 and applied for citizenship on the grounds that they were born of Jewish parents and have not converted to another religion, and that they considered themselves to be Jews. The "only democracy in the Middle East" disagreed. The court ruled that it was "irrelevant that they celebrated

Jewish holidays and declared themselves to belong to the Jewish people whose well-being they seek." Belief in Christ was sufficient evidence that they did not merit the privileges accorded to Jews in "the Jewish state."

Another family of recent immigrants to Israel had its immigrant status revoked by the Interior Ministry. The Tropimov family, which turned out to be Christian, had immigrated to Israel early this year from the Soviet Union.

A member of the family said that they did not try to deceive anyone, that they informed Israeli representatives that they were devout Christians. Apparently, the information got lost in the bureaucratic jungle, and the family was allowed to enter Israel as immigrants. When they arrived, they were met by jubilant crowds at Ben-Gurion airport with songs, dancing and flowers.

Then a clerk of the Absorption Ministry discovered the error, and the Interior Ministry revoked their immigrant status. That meant losing their apartment and all the other privileges given to Jews. A spokesman of the Interior Ministry told *The Jerusalem Post International* (13 January 1990) that "the 19-member Tropimov family would probably be sent elsewhere." The Tropimovs, like a lot of other people in this world, are not aware of the "Only Jews Allowed" signs which surround the Jewish state. □

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